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safe from embroilment. Too many of us relied on our splendid isolation, on the counsels of Washington and Jefferson to avoid entangling alliances, and on our traditions. But that is all changed now. We did intervene in Europe, and we are tied up in alliances. Europe's affairs have become our affairs, and, logically and reciprocally, our affairs must be those of Europe. If Europe remains peaceful and orderly, we are apt to be. If Europe surrenders to revolution or engages in great wars our peace is in jeopardy. That is a selfish and urgent reason why we should try to exert an influence for a just and lasting peace. If we are to avoid having our Republic become a military camp, if we are to avoid excessive taxes for the keep of great armies and navies, we must help our colleagues of the union in other countries, who are striving for just these things.

For years, in fact since its organization in October, 1888, this association has been advocating "the reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety," and the arbitration or judicial settlement of international disputes. From my hasty reading of the League of Nations constitution I understand those very things to be the points of greatest importance. If that program of the Interparliamentary Union had been accepted by governments and lived up to, we probably would not have had the more than four years of horror that ended last November. The two hundred billion dollars the war cost could have been saved and spent for the betterment of society. The nine million dead would have been saved. If our program had been accepted and lived up to, there would have been no necessity for the new League of Nations. The work of the union for the last thirty years for these things does not end with the new human charter. It is an inspiration for greater effort. I hope that the American group, under a new and abler leadership, will play a great part in the future development of the world along these lines of righteousness and reason. I thank you for your support and confidence in the last four years, and I bespeak the same cordial co-operation with your new president.

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By JACKSON H. RALSTON

THE world owes the present armistice to the coming of the United States into the fray. But for our entrance cessation of hostilities might have been long delayed. The United States, therefore, will, in the final settlement, occupy a position of peculiar power.

The eyes of the world are turning to the United States, seeing among us the nearest approach to democracy on a large scale the world affords. We are found to possess a country to which war is alien and which takes no interest in commercial exploitation of weaker countries as a national pastime. Other countries, weary of past conditions, with such an exemplar before them, seek to discover from our form of government if there may not be such a thing as a United States of the world, and ask if a scheme which united thirteen jealous, discordant colonies and preserved peace among them and their associates, save for a relatively brief period, may

not give suggestion and force to a plan for uniting civilized mankind.

In foreign affairs the common man must hereafter be taken into account as he has never been before in any European country, whether called democracy or kingdom. Secret diplomacy must fall to pieces, for it means distrust of and contempt for the man in the street. Thoughtful men everywhere, waking up to the rights of obscure individuals and weaker nations, grow more critical of "spheres of influence," the exploitation of which is necessarily confined to a few choice spirits, the burdens and dangers falling upon the many.

Americans are too apt to consider the question before them as entirely akin to that which offered itself to their ancestors at the time of the formation of the Constitution. While this instrument was formed, among other things, to insure domestic tranquillity, it would have been a very different production but for the fact that the greater necessity for its existence was rather external than internal. We had to prepare to take our place among the nations of the earth and to be ready to offer to them a united and stalwart front. The States, therefore, yielded to the general government powers which as sovereign they would have retained, as, for instance, to declare war or to make peace. They surrendered all direct relations with foreign governments, the control of such being vested in the central power of the United States. They could no longer levy taxes on imports from fellow States, but the custom-houses were placed in charge of the Federal authorities.

Among the differences, therefore, to be noted between the American problem and the present one are that we cannot now interfere with the existence of national armies, although we may find it expedient to control their size; we cannot touch, except under severe limitations, diplomatic intercourse between the nations; we cannot prevent the levy of custom-house taxes. In doubtless many other important respects, the divergencies between the problems will make themselves manifest, but limitations of space prohibit their present exploitation.

Our undertaking must be to preserve equal rights, good faith, and justice between nations, not to seek their internal reformation or to interfere with their management, even to secure order. Our greatest duty will be to remove possible causes of dissension between them. We must do all within our power to further the development of countries which have not yet advanced to the average civilization of the more enlightened nations.

Accepting the division of government made by Montesquieu and followed, more or less accurately in this country, into legislative, executive, and judicial, we will first consider as of primary importance, the legislative.

International Legislative Powers

If we were to dwell in the realm of abstract right alone, we would be compelled to say and to insist that absolute free trade should be the rule between nations as it is the rule between the several States of this Union. We would point to the fact that the existence of this condition has furnished the greatest assurance of our national solidarity and freedom from internal jealousy

and dissension. We should also argue that the strength of the German Empire lay not in its general unity of government, not even in its militarism, but in the existence along its extremest edges of an equal Zollverein, cementing in bonds of firmest business union all within its borders. We would point out that the most compelling reason for Germany's entrance into a world war was that it might be able, almost indefinitely, to extend the outer limits of its customs taxes, preserving free trade between the units. Our argument based upon these examples would be irrefutable, but, as the world is constituted, unavailing. For the present each country must be permitted to maintain its own customs regulations, however self-injurious they may seem to be.

Nevertheless, certain things in the way of trade regulations may be accomplished. Free ports may be encouraged without offense to national feeling. International waterways will be directed by legislative action, and international shipping regulations will be established. Access, unhampered in character, from nations without seaports or with inconvenient ones to and from the seaboard must be provided and regulated.

Of prime importance will be the establishment of freedom of opportunity for business men of all nations to establish themselves in industrial undertaking in any part of the world. "Spheres of Influence" must be absolutely destroyed if we accept the doctrine of equality of nations or of individuals. The relations to exist between the signatories and undeveloped countries must be fixed upon a like even basis. It will be an ultimate peril to peace if it be then forgotten that whosoever owns to his selfish advantage the land of a people owns the people themselves.

The rules of nationality as to person and property must be unified, doing away with the possibility as to persons of double citizenship or lack of any citizenship whatsoever. The protection of non-nationals in alien lands will receive its need of attention, particularly in those instances where justice has failed. A court of arbitral justice with councils of mediation and subordinate commissions will be established between nations and their jurisdiction adjusted from time to time. The international legislature will fix and control the admission of new countries to the original league, or the representation of the several parts of countries which may be dissolved. The Bryan peace treaties will be given universal sanction.

Undoubtedly, for an indefinite period much of any action of a world legislature, certainly in controlling the United States, would have to be *ad referendum*, and this fact would make the number of representatives from each country a matter of minor consideration.

International Judiciary

Submission of difficulties to the Hague Tribunal, as constituted since its beginning, has never been obligatory. The fact of its existence has exercised a certain moral influence not to be despised, notwithstanding the events of the last four years. The want of force to insure obedience to its sentences has never been a matter of importance, nor has it so proven with regard to any important international arbitral or judicial decision.

Every international dispute is susceptible of being

settled by impartial men. Already the Hague Court has passed upon pecuniary claims, boundary disputes, questions of interpretation of treaties, the right to float national flags and matters of assumed affront or insult.

Nations have appeared solicitous that there should be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of an international court affairs involving national honor. This term is too elastic and uncertain to justify further recognition in the language of international practice. Law does not know it. It means now, and ever has meant, no more than whatever any nation, having its own private ends to serve, or passions to gratify, might see fit to give the term. The reservation has no more respectable place in public affairs than the word "honor" in a dueling sense has between sober men of family. It should be thoroughly understood that no nation can be dishonored save by its own practices and these practices should always be of such a nature as to stand inquisition before the eyes of the world. We must, therefore, give to the court, when established, the widest possible jurisdictional extension internationally. We will not forget that whole series of claims may properly be passed upon by commissions of lesser dignity or boards of assessors, while threatened troubles may be composed by councils of mediation.

It has been the habit of nations, when represented in conference at the Hague, to attach much importance to the source and number of men allotted to the several countries upon an international bench, and much ingenuity has been expended in the drafting of plans which would satisfy the great powers that they would not be at the mercy of the smaller ones, and, at the same time, would convince the smaller nations that their equality of right was recognized. The fact that many of the nations in the Western Hemisphere are relatively undeveloped in an international sense has had its weight in this discussion. We will, on investigation, discover that it is not material that the larger countries should be recognized upon the bench according to their population, or wealth, or assumed civilization. Nor is it important, on the other hand, that the smaller countries should have any particular representation.

The Executive

Many of the writers upon the subject of a League of Nations have found their greatest difficulty in the consideration of the functions and the responsibilities of the executive. It is assumed that the executive is to control a tremendous military and naval force capable of overwhelming any one or more of the members of the league. It would seem to us that this conception is vastly erroneous, and that a league, if formed upon a proper basis, will rather be a gigantic business undertaking in the interest of the people of the whole world, than a club with which to demolish assailants. In support of our view we have to consider that to be at all a success, a League of Nations must include substantially all of the great powers of the world. This end being gained, there will remain no single external opponent with which conflicts may be anticipated, while a slight analysis will show that internal league dangers are not of such character as to justify crushing expenditures for armed forces.